

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 IO-10 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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SAJ-01 OMB-01 CIEP-01 OPR-01 OCE-00 CCO-00 NIC-01

MC-01 SY-04 /074 W

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O P 061530Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0670

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AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

USDOCOSOUTH

USEUCOM

USCINCEUR

DIA WASHDC

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 4376

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT CY TU

SUBJECT: WAITING FOR MAKARIOS...

REF: DATT MSG 021600Z DEC 74

1. EMBASSY OFFERS HEREWITH LOCAL OBSERVATIONS ON EVE OF
MAKARIOS' RETURN. WE BELIEVE MAKARIOS' RETURN WILL INCREASE
RISK OF INCIDENTS ON ISLAND. IN SHORT TERM, HE LIKELY TO SURVIVE
THIS TROUBLE. BEYOND THAT, OUTCOME WILL PRIMARILY DEPEND
ON HIS FUTURE PERFORMANCE AS PRESIDENT.

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2. INTENSIVE PREPARATIONS UNDER WAY TO WELCOME ARCHBISHOP

MAKARIOS HOME ON DECEMBER 7. SINCE NOVEMBER 26, PANCYPRIAN COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS LABORED WITH MASS ORGANIZATIONS FROM OLD MAKARIOS COALITION TO ASSURE TURNOUT THAT WILL MATCH THAT WHICH GREETED ARCHBISHOP ON 1959 RETURN FROM EXILE. COMMITTEE, WHEN CREATED, HAD STRONG LEFTIST/COMMUNIST TINGE. MOST CENTRIST GROUPS HAVE SINCE CLIMBED ON ITS BANDWAGON. MAJOR NON-COMMUNIST LABOR CONFEDERATION, SEK, INVITED ALMOST AS AFTER-THOUGHT. CONSPICUOUSLY ABSENT FROM COMMITTEE ARE LARGE FIGHTERS' GROUPS, PEMA AND PEON, FORMER MAKARIOS SUPPORTERS WHICH PRESUMABLY BLACKBALLED BECAUSE OF THEIR RECENT SUPPORT FOR CLERIDES.

3. WE EXPECT MAJOR THREATEN ON DECEMBER 7, IN KEEPING GREEK CYPRIOT TRADITION OF ASSRXBLING LARGE CLAQUES FOR COMMUNION WITH ETHNARCH. AS CONVENIENT BACKDROP FOR LOCAL STAGING, WORLD PEACE COUNCIL HAS PROCLAIMED DECEMBER 1-8 A "WEEK OF SOLIDARITY FOR CYPRUS." GOC HAS PROCLAIMED DECEMBER 7 OFFICIAL HOLI-DAY: COORDINATING COMMITTEE HAS SET UP PROVINCIAL TEAMS, LAID ON MASS TRANSPORT TO ASSURE MAXIMUM TURNOUT TO HEAR MAKARIOS' NOONTIME ADDRESS FROM BALCONY OF ARCHGISHOPRIC. STRENUOUS EFFORTS BEING MADE TO BRING TO TOWN MASSES OF REFUGEES, MANY OF WHOM HAVE BEEN HEARTENED BY MAKARIOS' REMARKS THAT LONG, HARD STRUGGLE WILL LEAD EVENTUALLY TO LIBERATION OF THEIR HOMES. SIMILARLY, COMMITTEE HAS PUSHED THEME THAT RETURN WILL "OPEN NEW PHASE OF STRUGGLE."

4. SECURITY. MAKARIOS APPARENTLY HAS INSISTED ON THIS RALLY OVER STRONG OBJECTIONS FROM CLERIDES. RALLY CONTAINS INGREDIENTS FOR MAJOR INCIDENT; HUGE MOB CLOSE TO TURK LINES, LYSSARIDES' AND OTHER ARMED TOUGHS IN WAITING, POSSIBLE HARD-LINE RHETORIC FROM ARCHBISHOP. IT WILL BE A FEAT TO BRING IT OFF QUIETLY. POLICE HAVE GEARED UP MASSIVE PROTECTION EFFORT. 300-MAN PRESIDENTIAL GUARD HAS BEEN RECONSTITUTED. NATIONAL GUARD EXPECTED TO PLAY KEY ROLE IN ASSURING GENERAL PEACE AND QUIET. WE UNDERSTAND GOC EXPECTS SOME LOCAL VIOLENCE IN LIMASSOL, LARNACA IN NEAR FUTURE. PROXIMATE CAUSE IS MAKARIOS RETURN, THOUGH MANY SCORES REMAIN TO BE SETTLED FROM COUP PERIOD. BOTH CAMPS ARMED, WATCHFUL, PREPARED RETALIATE IN KIND.

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5. GENERAL REACTIONS. PRO-MAKARIOS FORCES ARE TRUMPETING RETURN AS MAJOR VICTORY: OVER JUNTA AND ITS RESIDUAL ALLIES ON ISLAND, OVER TURKS AND THEIR HIM-HANDED PUBLIC EFFORTS TO PREVENT IT, OVER "OTHERS" WORKING AGAINST INTERESTS OF CYPRUS. (COMMUNIST HARAVGHI HAILS DEFEAT OF US/UK/TURK "HOLY ALLIANCE" AGAINST MAKARIOS.) RIGHTIST OPPOSITION REMAINS GRUMPLY HOSTILE, ACCEPTS

RETURN AS INEVITABLE, WARNS DARKLY AGAINST ANY PROVOCATIONS FROM LYSSARIDES CLIQUE AND OTHER "PARASTATE" GROUPS. WITH SOME REASON, SAMPSON'S MAKHI BETRAYS NERVOUSNESS THAT ITS PUBLISHER WILL BE TARGETTED. MANY GREEK CYPRIOTS, NOT JUST REFUGEES, VIEW MAKARIOS AS LAST HOPE FOR RESTORATION OF THEIR LANDS. MORE SOPHISTICATED CIRCLES, ESPECIALLY URBANE ELITE AND MANY BUSINESSMEN, VISIBLY UNHAPPY WITH RETURN BUT FEEL POWERLESS TO OPPOSE IT.

6. RIGHTIST CAMP. HOSTILITY TO MAKARIOS' RETURN HAS NOT REPEAT NOT HELPED GREEK CYPRIOT RIGHTISTS OVERCOME TRADITIONAL DISARRAY. WE ARE READING AGAIN OF NASCENT "NATIONALIST" PARTY, THOUGH EFFORTS TO DATE APPEAR FEEBLE, RESULTS NIL. EOKA-B HAS BEEN ALMOST INVISIBLE IN RECENT WEEKS; MANY OF ITS LEADERS OFF ISLAND, AND LIKELY REMAIN AWAY UNTIL SITUATION CLARIFIES AFTER ARCHBISHOP'S RESTORATION. ESEA AND EOKA-B HAVE ISSUED MILD STATEMENTS WARNING MAKARIOS OF CONSEQUENCES IF HE RESUMES PERSECUTIONS OF ENOTISTS. WE KNOW THAT CLERIDES RECENTLY MET WITH EOKA-B LEADERS IN EFFORT ASSURE SMOOTH TRANSITION OF POWER TO ARCHBISHOP. WE SEE NO REPEAT NO SIGN THAT EOKA-B WILL LAUNCH MAJOR CHALLENGE TO MAKARIOS IN NEXT FEW DAYS. GENERALLY, RIGHTIST CAMP VERY UNHAPPY WITH GOG'S FAILURE PREVENT RETURN; OPEN CRITICISM OF KARAMANLIS CAME OUT IN "ETHNIKI" DEC 6.

7. LYSSARIDES' GANGS, COMMUNIST AKEL. BOTH GROUPS ARE WELL ORGANIZED, WELL ARMED (CLERIDES GAVE US RECENT CONFIRMATION OF THIS), INCREASINGLY AS WARY OF EACH OTHER AS OF ENEMIES ON RIGHT. THEY HAVE LED CHANT FOR MAKARIOS' RETURN, ARE IN FOREFRONT OF WELCOMING COMMITTEE. PRESUMABLY, THEY EXPECT MANY BENEFITS FROM ARCHBISHOP'S RESTORATION. RECENT SIGNS SUGGEST THAT AKEL MAY VIEW MAKARIOS RETURN WITH RESERVE, FOR TWO REASONS: (1) PARTY NOW MORE SECRET

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"REALISTIC" THAN ARCHBISHOP ON NEED FOR POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WITH TURKS, AND (2) IT FEARS MAKARIOS MAY SWING RIGHT, WITH RESULTANT LESS RELIANCE ON -- AND POLITICAL GOODIES FOR -- HIS ERSTWHILE COMMUNIST SUPPORTERS.
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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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8. NATIONAL GUARD. NG REMAINS KEY TO STABILITY IN GREEK CYPRUS; NG'S ROLE IN PACIFICATION UNDER CLERIDES WAS CRUCIAL; UNDER MAKARIOS, NEED FOR ITS UNAMBIGUOUS SUPPORT WILL BE EVEN GREATER. WE CONCUR IN USDAO ATHENS CONCLUSION (MSG 0214567Z DEC 74) RE MUTUAL PERCEPTIONS BETWEEN MAKARIOS AND HELLENIC ARMY. DESPITE UNAVOIDABLE NEED FOR NG TO HAVE MAJOR ROLE IN HIS PROTECTION, WE BELIEVE ARCHBISHOP WILL QUICKLY TRY TO INSULATE HIMSELF FROM A FORCCE WHICH TRIED TO KILL HIM IN JULY. MAKARIOS WILL HAVE TO MOVE CAREFULLY, HOWEVER, BECAUSE HE CANNOT AFFORD AN OPEN BREACH WITH KARAMANLIS - OR THE NG -

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AT THIS TIME.

9. CLERIDES CAMP. AMORPHOUS AS EVER, UNABLE OR UNWILLING OPENLY TO OPPOSE ARCHBISHOP'S RESTORATION, BUT STRONGLY

PREFERRING THAT CLERIDES STAY ON AS PRESIDENT. CLERIDES REMAINS A LEADER WITHOUT AN EFFECTIVE POLITICAL MACHINE OR ABILITY OPENLY TO CHALLENGE MAKARIOS. HIS OWN PARTY (UP) IS SPLIT, IN LARGE PART DUE TO EFFORTS OF MAKARIOS HARDLINER TASSOS PAPADOPoulos.

10. TURKISH POSITION. TURKISH MILITARY FORCES (AS WELL AS NG) ON INCREASED ALERT. TURKISH OFFICIALS HERE ARE VOCALLY CONCERNED OVER MAKARIOS' RETURN, FEELING ARCHBISHOP CERTAIN TO IMPEDE NORTHERN FLOW OF TURK CYPRIOTS. HOWEVER, NO FIRM INDICATION YET THAT THEY INTENT TAKE MILITARY ACTION TO PREVENT MAKARIOS RESUMPTION OF POWER. SEVERAL GREEK PAPERS HAVE TAKEN ARCHBISHOP'S DECEMBER 2 CUE ON NEED TO AVOID GIVING TURKS ANY EXCUSE FOR FURTHER MILITARY MOVES.

11. USG IMAGE. ANTI-USG RIPPLES FROM MAKARIOS' RALLY WILL REFLECT CURRENT THEMES: THAT USG IS LEADING COALITION DOGGEDLY FIGHTING MAKARIOS' RETURN, SPREADING IDEA OF INEVITABLE TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF CYPRUS, STILL RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT TURKS HAVE DONE SINCE JULY 20. KENNEDY CRITICISMS ON UPSURGE IN USG ARMS DELIVERIES TO TURKEY ELICITED PREDICTABLE, GENERAL PRESS COMMENT THAT USG WILL SHOULDER BLAME FOR ANY "THIRD ROUND." LYSSARIDES' WEEKLY RAG HAS PUT OUT LIE THAT CIA ALREADY SCHEMING ASSASSINATION OF MAKARIOS SOON AFTER RETURN. WE EXPECT REPLAYS THESE LEITMOTIFS IN AFTERMATH OF RALLY BUT WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT FORESEE A MAJOR INCREASE IN SECURITY THREAT TO EMBASSY.

12. PROSPECTS. THOUGH HIS STAR HAS DIMMED, MAKARIOS REMAINS WITHOUT QUESTION SINGLE MOST POPULAR MAN ON CYPRUS. HE WILL RETURN WITH SIGNIFICANT ASSETS: SUPPORT (IF ONLY EPHEMERAL) OF MAJORITY HIS PEOPLE; LEADERSHIP OF CHURCH; CONTROL OF BUREAUCRACY; APPARENT BLESSING FROM KARAMANLIS AND NATIONAL CENTER; LARGE COALITION OF WELL-ORGANIZED, SECRET

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WELL-HEELED SUPPORTERS; AND --- ALWAYS A MAJOR STRENGTH FOR ARCHBISHOP --- PASSIVITY, DIVISION, POLITICAL IMPOTENCE OF HIS OPPONENTS. MANY IN CENTER, MOST IN RIGHTIST CAMP STILL VIEW HIM WITH GRAVE SUSPICION, IF NOT REPEAT NOT HATRED. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE GOC AND NG CAN COPE WITH IMMEDIATE PHYSICAL THREAT. HOW MAKARIOS HANDLES HIMSELF AS PRESIDENT RESTORED TO POWER WILL DETERMINE HIS LONGER-TERM CHANCES OF SURVIVAL. A RIGHTWARD LURCH TO PICK UP NATIONALIST SUPPORT, AND OFFSET SOMEWHAT EOKA-B'S THREAT, WOULD APPEAR IN HIS INTEREST: AKEL'S MISGIVINGS MAY THUS BE WELL-FOUNDED.

13. MAKARIOS HAS CLEVERLY NOURISHED AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS A HOPE OF RETURN TO HOMES, WHILE DISCLAIMING ABILITY TO WORK MIRACLES. IT SEEMS INEVITABLE THESE HOPES WILL BE DASHED AND THAT ARCHBISHOP'S POPULARITY WILL SOON DECLINE. BUT FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS MOST GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL BE ON RHETORICAL BINGE AND UNLIKELY TO THINK OF HARSH REALITIES OF TURK OCCUPATION.

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